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Is freedom for U.S. only?

Reapers of hate

Dear Mr. President:

Two days after the outbreak of civil war in Korea, you ordered U. S. navy and air units to enter the fight—to start killing Koreans with guns and bombs for which we—yes, we progressives too—helped to pay. Then you ordered more intervention against "communism" throughout Asia.

On Tuesday you said:

"Men will always long for protection against the midnight arrest, the slave camp, the torture chamber. Men will never accept these things as right."

What an apt analysis of the Korean outbreak! Especially when one reads it in the N. Y. **Times,** whose man in Korea has recently been describing the midnight arrests, slave camps and torture chambers in that country.

But we must conclude that either you don't read the **Times** or you are standing on your head. For it was not in **North Korea,** but in "your" **South Korea** that these things were described.

"NATIONAL security" is, as reported, "the primary interest" behind your decision to order Americans into the fight. You indicate that this security is endangered by a threat to a midnight-arrest, slave-camp, torture-chamber regime 6,000 miles across the Pacific.

Will you not consider the relation of these facts to our nation's security?

• The U. S. has already intervened to the tune of billions of dollars and millions of lives in China. Now it has undertaken to use our Navy to protect in Formosa the remnant of Chiang Kai-shek's regime—condemned by your own State Dept. as hopelessly corrupt. Result: hatred for the U. S. sown in the hearts of 450,000,000 Chinese.

• The U. S., directly or through its cold-war allies, is now interfering and killing in Viet Nam, Malaya and the Philippines as well as in Korea, as we have already done in Indonesia, in Greece—and, yes, in the land of Israel too! Can we expect the people of these lands to esteem us for this?

• More than half the people in the world—1,223,111,000—live in Asia. You seek to woo them to U. S. policies. They have dark skins, Mr. President. For generations they have been suffering the midnight arrests, slave camps, torture chambers—and starvation—of white rule. Is it by showering them with bombs that you will now turn their hearts to love of their oppressors?

IF you have any military advisers who dare to be objective, they will tell you that your intervention in Korea and elsewhere in Asia can at best do nothing more than spread guerrilla bands all over the map. For as you so rightly say:

"Men will never accept these things as right."

If you have any spiritual advisers who dare to speak for the Judeo-Christian ethic, they will tell you that your actions have no justification in religion.

If you have an scientific advisers who dare to be scientific, they will tell you that you are acting in a manner reminiscent of King Canute, who ordered the ocean to recede.

If you have any advisers in logic—but no, that is clearly not the case.

DO you really think that your talk of "communism" and "totalitarianism" means anything to the people of Asia? Did you ever see your brother starve to death before your eyes, your daughter sold into prostitution for a few grains of rice? Can you not even now force your mind into action to try and conceive how that feels?

Perhaps, if you don't read the **Times,** you read the N. Y. **Herald Tribune** or one of the other papers in which Walter Lippmann's column appears. If so you will have read this on June 29:

Always it is necessary for the Westerners to participate in the fighting itself. Never yet has it been necessary for the Russians to do that. This is on many counts a profoundly disturbing contrast between the Soviet and the Western position in Asia.

Mr. President, do you ever wonder why this is so?

The other half of humankind have a right to live their lives, to rise in revolt against oppression, to unite their peoples. They have a right to expect that a nation such as ours, born in one of the world's historic revolutions, will respect this right. They can have no feeling but hatred for the nation which directs armed might against them.

The rising tide of hatred against America can be turned, Mr. President, but not with jet bombers. This tide can be turned only with understanding, help and friendship—and a final end to white exploitation of the rest of the world.

The Editors of the Guardian

Hot enough for you, General?

Gen. Douglas MacArthur, shown with South Korean President Syngman Rhee, flew to the Korean war front from Tokyo on Thursday for a two-day visit. But eight hours later he turned right around again and flew home.

The betrayal of Korean unity

The people of Korea are remarkably homogeneous. Ethnically and culturally they are one. They have a passionate longing for unity and independence and have a profound desire for the peaceful unification of their country.
From a report of the United Nations Commission on Korea, July 28, 1949.

FOR more than two years the North Korean People's Republic has worked for unification on a democratic basis of the artificially divided land. Support of this goal by South Koreans has been bloodily suppressed by the U.S.-supported Syngman Rhee regime. On June 6, 1950, U. S. Ambassador to South Korea Muccio told the Senate Foreign Relations Committee that between September, 1949, and April, 1950, more than 5,000 guerrillas were killed in South Korea; the jails overflowed with hundreds of thousands of prisoners, most of them political.

DRIVE FOR UNITY: On May 30, in spite of the terror, the Syngman Rhee government of South Korea was decisively defeated in Assembly elections. Of 210 members, 130 were independents critical of the Rhee regime and favorable to unification. Following the elections, North Korea stepped up the drive for an over-all democratic representative government, announced on June 3 that 5,300,000 Northerners had signed an appeal for peace and unification.

On June 7 Radio Pyongyang in the North repeated broadcasts of a new appeal for a meeting of a proposed consultative council to be followed by general elections throughout Korea.

On June 10 the Northern Democratic Front sent three emissaries to South Korea to deliver copies of the appeal to Southern political parties and social organizations. Fired upon at the 38th parallel, the three managed to get across but then were arrested.

All through this period, as late as June 24, Radio Pyongyang was broadcasting a completely detailed and timed program for peaceful unification:

1. Formation of an all-Korea legislative body by uniting the Supreme People's Assembly of the Democratic People's Republic and the National Assembly of North Korea.

2. The united legislative body to adopt a constitution and form a government of the Republic.

3. General elections to be held on the basis of the new constitution.

4. Syngman Rhee and his clique to be arrested as national traitors; freedom of speech, press and assembly to be guaranteed; all suppression of democratic political parties and social organizations to be lifted; all political prisoners to be released.

5. Existing police and security forces in North and South to be reorganized and united.

6. The UN Commission on Korea to be asked to leave the country as "a tool of . . . American imperialists . . . in the implementation of their policy of division and enslavement of our Fatherland."

7. All unification measures to be completed by August 15, 1950.

North Korea offered to send a delegation to Seoul next day, or to receive a South Korea delegation.

By June 22 support for these proposals was growing throughout South Korea. But—

As early as June 9 Syngman Rhee had issued secret orders for extra police surveillance in South Korea; traffic was closed at the 38th parallel and extra forces were stationed there. By June 25 the shooting had started.

This is a special issue on the Korean situation

We have omitted some of our regular features this week, including the Dollar Stretcher and the book review (they'll be back next week) to give you an intelligent guide and background to the war in Korea.

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the progressive newsweekly

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THE MAILBAG

First unite the nations

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.

URGE THAT YOU AND MR. WALLACE DEMAND END OF KOREA FIGHTING AND UNITED NATIONS ELECTION FOR NEW GOVERNMENT FOR ALL KOREA.

DARREL B. CARTER

Independence Day, 1950

NEW YORK, N. Y.

Twice before the American people waged formidable struggles against the forces of selfishness. The first was in 1776 for national independence; the second was the struggle for the abolition of slavery in the South.

In February, 1835, Rep. Wise of Virginia declared in the House: "Sir, slavery, interwoven with our very political existence, is guaranteed by our Constitution. You cannot attack the institution of slavery without attacking the institutions of our country."

Today a new and very insidious form of slavery confronts the American people: that of the worshippers of military might first and always. Increasingly they are using the authority of the government through its three branches to impose on the nation slavery to armaments; and along with it the abominable idea that arms rather than reason is the only way to peace.

Many of their spokesmen seem to be closely emulating Rep. Wise, and in effect they are saying: "You cannot attack our military programs and foreign entanglements which these programs make unavoidable, without attacking the life of our country."

But if the forces of greed emulate Wise, all good citizens must choose as their model William Lloyd Garrison, editor, typesetter, proofreader, printer and distributor of his fearless Liberator—and like him be determined to think, speak or write harshly against the would-be tyrants of the new slavery.

A. Garcia Diaz

Bootstrap over the top

ANN ARBOR, MICH.

Enclosed is $6 for Operation Bootstrap, Ann Arbor. We've reached $104—over the top! Now for the second hundred! Bob Silk

LATHROP, CALIF.

Thank you for the surprising list of Lathrop GUARDIAN subscribers. I'll tackle them. All our operations are bootstrap — bootstrap frayed with the tugging. I of necessity live in the country where hopeful spots are separated from each other by miles of wind-swept sand, and I'm operating primitively with neither car nor telephone and on an income of $40 a month. From this I squeeze my "office supplies" —stamps, etc.—and an occasional dollar for the causes that are dearer to me than food or clothes.

Leila Noland

SEATTLE WASH.

The arrival of your letter coincided with my cramming for finals and the arrival of a new baby (our third) plus working five nights a week at a theatre (where I have just been elected shop steward) and a frantic search for a teaching job. Here's $3 I got from the sale of textbooks today.

Re Seattle Bootstrap: Count me in without reservation. Lyle Mercer

American socialism

NEW YORK, N. Y.

I was much impressed by the article in your June 7 issue by Father Clarence Duffy and particularly grateful to Father Duffy for giving an intelligent and intelligible definition of the word "socialism" in these days when words are used to mean anything and therefore mean nothing.

As to an American kind of socialism, neither Russian nor British, that has been thought out long since; a practical plan having the same aim as socialism and the same basic conviction, namely that this earth was created not by man but by God for the human race to subsist from, and consequently no man or group of men have the right to own and control what belongs to all men.

So far the plan is the same as socialism. From that point on—I refer of course to Henry George and the Single Tax—the practical working out of the plan is fitted so smoothly into the American system that no honest business man could lose by it, but rather stand to gain. This plan formed the platform of a political party toward the end of the last century and is still passionately believed in and yearned for by hundreds of thousands of American citizens, many of them business men.

Yet the Progressive Party has consistently refused to consider that plan, or even to listen to it. Why is that?

Margaret A. Fellows

Mebane still getting it

DETROIT, MICH.

I would like to answer Daniel Mebane's letter that appeared in the Mailbag a few weeks ago. Mr. Mebane uses the same type of Hearst and McCarthy language in denouncing peace advocates as "Red," etc.

It is my feeling that his charges were weak and feeble as are all the others who are clamoring for another war. As to the New Republic, enclosed you will find $1 contribution to the GUARDIAN. It was originally slated to go to the New Republic, but after that letter—never.

Former New Republic reader

EDINA, MO.

This is an excerpt of a letter written to Daniel Mebane, publisher, the New Republic:

"My two year subscription to the New Republic is expiring. While debating whether or not to renew I came upon your letter to the GUARDIAN regarding the Stockholm Peace Appeal and America's use of the A-Bomb. Your letter convinced me. Do not renew my sub nor bother to solicit renewal.

"Patriotism is now measured by one's allegiance to inept and stumbling leaders. We would prefer to be 'un-American' rather than endorse Mr. Truman's announced intention to use the A-Bomb again."

Lester R. Carson

The Hiroshima bomb

PARIS, FRANCE

I wasn't going to think about Hiroshima any more, but now it has been dragged out again, I would like to publicly recant. At the time the bomb was used, I was so angry with the Japanese fascist troops that I didn't care what happened to their families at home. They had killed a lot of Americans, including one of my best friends. Still, there were a few far-seeing Americans who said at the time that the deed was morally wrong. Today I do not call Truman a war criminal for having used it, but I think he was wrong. Moreover, I think I was wrong by being in passive agreement. George Cotton

We'll use it cleanly

ARLINGTON, CALIF.

Here's a dirty, germ-infested dollar bill for a clean journal—for sub renewal.

Harry F. Kane

For Willie McGee

BERKELEY, CALIF.

The following was sent to Gov. Fielding Wright, at Jackson, Miss.:

"This letter comes as an appeal to spare the life of Willie McGee, whose execution is scheduled for July 27. Surely in our so-called 'enlightened age' we can deal with human beings in a way other than execution! Won't you assist in at least turning the tide to a more intelligent way of handling problems? Thank you."

Frederick H. Werth

Reply to Regents

BERKELEY, CALIF.

Enclosed find $5 saved from grocery money: our answer to the Regents' oath. Since this great university (California) may disemploy us, it's all we can spare.

Name withheld

The dental monopoly

CHICAGO, ILL.

Most of our dental shortage on a national scale can be attributed to the monopolistic operations of the American Dental Assn. This organization has managed to limit the number of dentists, dental schools, the movement of dentists, and has even thwarted in many ways the self-respect and individual freedom of men in the profession. The present interstate dental licensing procedure is as much a racket as anyone can visualize. The manufacture and sale of dental supplies and equipment is a monopoly. The number and distribution of dentists is on a monopolistic basis. The will of the ADA membership is thwarted by a few reactionary minds who force upon us a very restrictive and repulsive type of "democratic operation."

Dr. Jack Tatelman

URGENT REQUEST TO READERS

Write to Truman now!

MAY we offer our advice to you in the Korean crisis—and in so doing, take issue with a trend of thought current among some progressives?

In the N. Y. "Daily Compass," June 28, I. F. Stone says that "the next move is up to Moscow." We profoundly disagree with this almost unanimous preoccupation with the U. S.-Russian-conflict aspect of the Korean civil war.

We suggest that Mr. Kim, the plain citizen of Korea (popn., 30,000,000), is the forgotten man in this situation. Forgotten even by some of our best progressives, who seem to think that he should endure terror and starvation indefinitely until such time as U. S. progressives get strong enough to make their government resolve its differences with Russia.

BUT in China the people waited for a sign, and all they saw was more U. S. arms pouring in, more starvation, more torture. Should they have waited indefinitely?

In Viet Nam, Malaya, the Philippines, the regimes of death and oppression go on, supported by U. S. arms: are those people to suffer and die indefinitely—waiting for U. S. progressives to get strong enough?

Do we really, seriously, expect them to say: "Ah, no, we should not do anything to stop the death, torture and starvation; it would interfere with the delicate balance of the peace movement in America. Let us be patient, and die, and maybe American progressives will be strong enough to help our grandchildren."

WHAT would you think of your ancestors who fought at Valley Forge to gain liberty from imperial Britain, if they had stopped fighting in the hope that more sympathizers could be moved into action in Europe?

What DO you think of the plain statements of Jefferson and Lincoln on the right of a people to overthrow oppressors? Do you think, as Truman evidently does, that they apply only to Americans in the year 1776? Or are they the "self-evident truths", the "laws of nature and nature's god", that Jefferson called them?

WE call upon you all, every reader of this paper, to write to the President NOW. Don't put it off a day—and don't scatter your fire. Write to the President in the White House. Tell him in your own words what you think of U. S. interference in Korea and throughout Asia. In this issue of the GUARDIAN and the previous one, you have the essential facts.

The colored peoples of the world have been patient long enough. Liberty is their right, as it is ours. If the progressive movement in the U. S. is not strong enough to change U. S. policy, they will act anyhow. They are already acting. But if we become strong, their path to freedom will be that much less bloody.

We have no more time to waste in bewailing our weakness. The next move is not up to Moscow. The next move is up to US.

—THE EDITORS

Life in Japan under Emperor Douglas I

We publish below a letter received last week from the Japan League to Defend Democracy (Minshu Shugi Yogo Domei), a broad, progressive organization fighting for civil liberties and peace. The letter was written before the outbreak of civil war in Korea; since then there have been further repressive measures.

TOKYO

DEAR people of America: In the face of the arrival in Japan of Gen. Omar N. Bradley, chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, Defense Secretary Johnson and John Foster Dulles, special advisor to the Secretary of State, all democratic rights are imperiled in Japan.

Since the People's Mobilization Rally in Tokyo on May 30, the basic human rights enjoyed by modern nations are disappearing one by one. On June 17 all demonstrations and rallies were prohibited in Tokyo by order of a metropolitan police chief. Trade union membership meetings — even small executive board meetings — are prohibited unless the police force presides over them. Art and cultural gatherings of all kinds are forbidden. Any gathering of more than three people, although completely non-political, is banned because it might be seen as a demonstration.

All members of the Central Committee of the Communist Party, who fought against the war and against the militarist regime throughout the war, have been purged and can no longer take part in any political activities.

EIGHT young patriots have been given sentences totaling 57 years of hard labor, on the ground of attacking American soldiers at the Tokyo People's Rally. According to the defense, there was no evidence of man-handling. Even so, they were given sentences averaging seven years instead of the maximum two years prescribed by the Japanese criminal code No. 208 under which they were indicted.

Many rank-and-file members of trade unions have been arrested, for no other reason than having in their possession copies of an open letter to Gen. MacArthur. Every one of the unions raided happens to be a militant organization engaged in severe economic struggles.

The United Nations Charter, the Potsdam declaration, the 16-point program on labor unions proclaimed by the Allied Far Eastern Commission, the Japanese Constitution and other human rights legislation—all are violated.

THE depth and scope of the Japanese people's struggles for freedom, peace and independence have stunned the reactionary forces. During the last House of Councillors election, 2,800,000 people were mobilized under the slogan of National Independence, Opposition to Military Bases and Opposition to War. The Stockholm peace pledge is being circulated by the millions. Many academic circles, educational and intellectual organizations have resolved upon and are demanding an over-all peace treaty. The working class is heroically fighting through the means of strikes against the militarization and colonization of Japan, which are the basic causes for the worsening conditions of labor.

However aggressive they may appear at this time, the same fate awaits today's fascists as that met by Hitler, Mussolini and Tojo.

We extend our hands across the Pacific in our common struggle against the common enemy, dear progressive American friends. We have the good fortune of not only fighting but also winning this struggle.

THE KOREA RECORD IS CLEAR

How U.S. turned UN into a cold war ally

By Tabitha Petran

ORIGINALLY dedicated to the self-determination of peoples, the United Nations last week became an arm of the Atlantic Alliance when the colonial powers, backed by their satellites, ordered it into war against the people of Korea. The N.Y. Times' Washington man, James Reston, conceded that:

> The whole political strategy of the Administration's case rests upon its relationship to the UN. . . . Without the speedy action of the UN Security Council, which Mr. Lie helped arrange, it is agreed here that Mr. Truman would not have been able to proceed with his plans for military action without risking serious divisions in this country and overseas.

Reston added that Truman and Acheson, both privately "less than enthusiastic about the UN in the last few years," are now suddenly discovering that "there may be quite a little truth in all those polite statements they made about the UN after all."

That Washington got even the bogus sanction it did (see p. 4) for its armed intervention arises from a long history of illegal use of the UN to cover its interference in Korea.

BIRTH OF "GET TOUGH": In December, 1945, at Moscow, the then Secy. of State Byrnes reached agreement with the Russians on many problems, including Korea. They established a joint commission to set up a unified Korea (which had been split at the 38th Parallel at Yalta in February, 1945, for occupation purposes). All Korean democratic parties were to be consulted. But Byrnes returned home to a barrage of criticism for "softness." The "get tough" policy was launched. The U.S. thereafter failed to implement the Moscow decisions.

For the next 18 months the joint American-Soviet Commission, meeting intermittently, was deadlocked on the question of which Korean organizations should participate in forming a provisional government. Of the group backed by the U.S., 17 opposed the Moscow decisions, only three favored them. A major dissenter was Washington's favorite, Syngman Rhee, who demanded an independent government in the South. He campaigned vigorously for a Greater Korea including slices of Manchuria and Russia's Maritime Province.

WHAT THEY WANTED: Russia insisted on exclusion of the extreme rightist Rhee and others of his kind who opposed the Moscow agreement; and on inclusion of the All-Korean Federation of Labor, the Peasants Union, the Youth Union and other mass organizations, which the U.S. opposed.

A Chicago **Sun** correspondent reported that the U.S. picked as its delegates to the Commission "many officers who have been far less concerned with Korean well-being than with the imminent war with Russia." It said the U.S. "wanted no agreement unless it gave a balance of power to our Korean allies" (the rightists, land owners, etc.). The N.Y. **Times** reported in June, 1947, that Rhee "has hinted repeatedly that the State Dept. planned to set up a separate government in South Korea."

THE LITTLE ASSEMBLY: In the fall of 1947 the U.S. proposed to UN's General Assembly the creation of a Little Assembly to sidestep and weaken the Security Council. Over the violent opposition of the Soviet bloc (based on violation of the UN Charter) the Little Assembly was set up with power to appoint commissions of inquiry. Some

U. N.

said it was created expressly to sanction a split Korea.

The General Assembly, at U.S. instigation, approved a U.S. resolution for a Commission to supervise elections in Korea. The Commission was to report to the Little Assembly. The General Assembly refused to hear representatives from North Korea. It voted

WHERE DULLES GOES, AN EVIL WIND BLOWS
With a homburg for a trench helmet, John Foster Dulles, State Dept. adviser, visited the South Korean front line at the 38th Parallel on June 20. Maj. J. W. Belello (3rd from right), U.S. senior adviser to the South Korean 7th Army, shows him maps of the terrain. At extreme right, with binoculars, is U.S. Ambassador Muccio. Dulles wanted U.S. ground troops for South Korea: he got them.

down a Soviet counter-proposal for evacuation of Soviet and U.S. troops and to let the Koreans decide their own future.

SPLIT COMMISSION: The UN Commission, chosen by John Foster Dulles and approved by the Little Assembly, included Australia, China, Canada, El Salvador, France, India, the Philippines, Syria and the Ukraine (which refused to serve). It was denied admission to the North, since Russia held it illegal. Moreover, North Koreans had been refused a hearing at the UN.

The Commission asked for guidance. The Little Assembly told it to supervise elections in the South, despite the opposition of Canada's Lester Pearson, who argued that the Little Assembly had no such authority. The Commission itself voted 4 to 2, with 2 abstentions, to supervise elections in South Korea.

The elections in May, 1949, took place in a land described by a Chicago **Sun** reporter as "a police state so savage in its suppression of man's elemental liberties that it was difficult to find a parallel for it." The entire Left, labor unions, farmers' unions had been driven underground or were in jail. All but the Right parties boycotted the elections. The UN Commission, however, gave its stamp of approval.

HE COULDN'T TAKE IT: This approval of bogus elections by a bogus commission set up by a bogus Little Assembly was the sole basis for recognizing Rhee's South Korean regime as the Korean government and "the child of the UN." The Commission's role in Korea so disgusted its Syrian member that he resigned early this year. He said Koreans must be allowed to settle their own future. The Commission's report to the UN last year contained revealing admissions completely ignored by the Security Council last week. The Rhee government, it said,

> appears to have underestimated the hold on the imagination of the people of Korea of the idea that Korea's difficulties could be overcome if leaders of north and south could sit down together and seek a common answer to its problems.

In all its time in South Korea the Commission has blocked just such conferences requested by the North.

The kind of news you get in Guardian is priceless. Help our sub drive!

Marcantonio: Truman robs people of right to speak up on war

In the United States House of Representatives last week only one voice was raised against the President's order for U.S. forces to intervene in Korea—the voice of Rep. Vito Marcantonio (ALP-N.Y.). As he spoke the floor and the galleries were deadly silent, for a few moments realizing the gravity of Marcantonio's remarks. Below his statement on the floor is excerpted:

By Vito Marcantonio

MR. Chairman, we have heard words read here by our distinguished majority leader which I think will mark a disastrous course, and the words I am using do not adequately describe the disastrous consequences this course will have on the people of the United States unless checked by the people themselves.

VITO MARCANTONIO
There are alternatives

The argument is advanced here that this action can be justified as a result of the United Nations Charter. I say that when we agreed to the United Nations Charter we never agreed to supplant our Constitution with the United Nations Charter. The power to declare and make war has today been usurped from us with the reading of this short statement by the President to the people of the world. I have no other recourse but to stand up and point out exactly what this action is, what this action is, how it violates our Constitution, our democratic traditions, and how it deprives the American people of the right to express themselves on the vital question of war and peace, a power and a right properly vested in the representatives of the American people, the Congress, by those who wisely wrote our Constitution.

IN China we spent $3,000,000,000 on Chiang Kai-shek. He controlled the mainland, he controlled the government, he controlled the army, he controlled everything. Our $3,000,000,000 did not save him, because I tell you neither $3,000,000,000 nor any amount of billions, would ever defeat the desire of 400,000,000 Chinese to establish for themselves their own form of government—no more than billions of dollars could have stopped us establishing for ourselves our own form of government in 1776.

So the people of China asserted themselves. Formosa is just as much a part of China as Staten Island is a part of New York. Here we are told that the United States Fleet is to interfere and attempt to stop the people of China from carrying out their own will in their own country.

On February 7 I pointed out the similarity between the rottenness that existed in the Chiang Kai-shek government and that existing in the South Korean government—a government imposed on the people of Korea by force of arms, a police state; and I stated at that time that that government could not long endure, that it would be wiped out by the will of the people of Korea.

I also said at that time that you cannot split into two countries a nation which is an ethnic unity, a people united culturally and racially over centuries. But we tried to do it. The United Nations itself recognized that that could not be done, and set up a commission to bring about a united Korea. The tyrannical rulers of South Korea ruthlessly suppressed every endeavor on the part of the people to achieve this objective and thus created an irrepressible conflict.

NOW, you may want this action. I do not. I know that the American people will not want this action when they think it over, and I know that they will thrust through this terrible dark cloud of war that has been descending on them. Oh, yes, you can keep on making impassioned pleas for the destruction of communism, but I tell you that the issue in China, in Asia, in Korea and in Viet Nam is the right of these peoples to independence and national unity.

These people despite the terror of the atom bomb have refused to abandon their efforts for national liberation. They will no more abandon this objective than the American people did during our Revolution.

Before this action can be taken this question should be debated here and decided here. The vote must be taken here by us as representatives of the American people whether or not American aviators and American seamen shall be shot down, their blood spilled in defense of tyranny in a conflict similar to our own Civil War. That is a power which is vested in us by the Constitution. I shall do all that I can—alone perhaps, but living with my conscience—to oppose this course which is not in the defense of the best interests of the American people.

War is not inevitable; there are alternatives, but this declaration on the part of President Truman is an acceptance of the doctrine of the inevitability of war. I stand here and challenge that doctrine. I say that the ingenuity of Americans and people all over the world challenge this doctrine.

WAR & PEACE

How U.S. went to war with N. Korea

ON June 27 President Truman ordered the sea and air forces of the U.S. into action to save the crumbling police-state regime of Syngman Rhee in South Korea. In a virtual declaration of war against the peoples of Asia and particularly New China, Truman said:

> "The attack upon Korea makes it plain beyond all doubt that communism has passed beyond the use of subversion to conquer independent nations and will now use armed invasion and war."

Therefore, he had ordered the 7th Fleet to prevent any attack on Chiang Kai-shek's Formosa, and stepped up military assistance to the Philippines and Indo-China to kill "communists."

The future status of Formosa, he said, would wait on a peace settlement with Japan. Getting his point across without directly accusing Russia of responsibility, Truman at the same time sent instructions to the U.S. Ambassador in Moscow. The Ambassador should ask Russia to use its influence to end hostilities in Korea.

WON'T INTERFERE: The reply from Moscow put responsibility for the attack on "South Korean authorities" and "those who stand behind them." It said:

> "The Soviet government withdrew its troops from Korea earlier than did the U. S. government and thereby confirmed its traditional principle of non-interference in the internal affairs of other states. The Soviet government holds now also to the principle of the inadmissibility of the interference of foreign powers in the internal affairs of Korea."

On June 30 the President augmented his declaration to order the use of U.S. ground troops in Korea. He also ordered a naval blockade of the entire Korean coast and instructed the Air Force to attack North Korea. The day before, he had authorized direct quotation of the statement: "We are not at war."

MacARTHUR MANIPULATES: The new Truman Doctrine for Asia, putting the U.S. frontier 7,000 miles away on the borders of Russia and China, was formulated, newspapers said, at a night conference at Blair House of top officials in direct communication with Gen. Douglas MacArthur in Tokyo. The full story behind the decision has yet to be told. But Marquis Childs in the N.Y. **Post** reported that when Gen. Bradley and Defense Secy. Louis Johnson conferred with MacArthur in Tokyo recently,

> they heard some pretty strong talk. MacArthur expressed the view that American policy up to this point in Asia had been a disaster. Moreover, he stressed the immediacy of the dangers facing the U. S. at half a dozen points in Asia.

As a result Bradley and Johnson while still in Tokyo ordered a detail of the largest, newest bombers to the Far East immediately. When they returned to Washington, Childs went on,

> they brought with them a top-secret document of the highest significance. It was a memorandum prepared by MacArthur for the President reporting what he had told Bradley and Johnson—that American policy had been a disaster and threatened a worse disaster.
>
> Bradley and Johnson had returned convinced that a new activist policy was essential unless the U. S. was prepared to see all of Asia go Communist. Such a decision had been taken by a unanimous vote of the Joint Chiefs of Staff as long ago as last January.
>
> When the Korean attack broke, Bradley and Johnson pleaded for immediate all-out action. . . . MacArthur had hinted to his visitors that if some action did not result, he might feel compelled to return to America and give the public the facts as he saw them.

Washington sources said MacArthur and Bradley threatened to resign if the U.S. failed to seize Formosa.

'Very little left...'

By Max Werner

In the N. Y. "Daily Compass"

THE pattern of fighting in Korea now has become perfectly clear; the entire Southern part of the peninsula became now one single battlefield where the Northern army is carrying out a large enveloping maneuver against the shattered and scattered Southerners.

Most striking feature is the series of landings the Northerners have carried out far to the southeast. There from the port of Pohangdong, in the direction of the railroad center of Taegu, an envelopment of the Southern fighting forces is taking place.

The entire front now is taking the shape of a big semi-circle around Taejon, provisional capital of the Southerners. It is a big maneuver, being executed in an area almost one-third that of Great Britain. From a professional military viewpoint, the Northerners' warfare is bold and imaginative. It combines modern mobile operations, in the main direction south of Seoul, with single thrusts and unleashing of guerrillas in the deep rear of the Southerners.

The resistance capacity of the Southern army seems to be close to the point of exhaustion. As things stand the alternative is no longer between the Northern advance and Southern defense with American support. There is very little left in the South to be supported.

UNITED NATIONS

U.S. puts on the big squeeze

TWENTY-four hours after Washington had decided on its own to send U.S. sea and air forces into battle in Korea, U.S. delegates came before the Security Council to get a form of international backing for its action. President Truman had told Gen. MacArthur

the night before to go ahead without waiting for a Council resolution approving sanctions. Meanwhile the South Koreans were being ignominiously beaten. Only an early vote could give Washington a passable alibi.

The session, the American public had been told, was to express the world's indignation at "Soviet-inspired aggression." So completely was all American news geared to this view of the outbreak, that it was impossible to get an accurate answer to the question: Was the world really indignant? The question raised another one: How big is the world?

When the vote was taken in the 11-member Security Council, those voicing indignation in support of Washington were France, Britain, Kuomintang China, Cuba, Ecuador and Norway: two powers with direct colonial interests in Asia, a representative of a tiny, almost extinct millionaires' club in Formosa, and three U.S. satellites with a combined population of 11,673,000. In supporting the U.S. resolution calling on all UN members to side actively with South Korea, this group was in effect presuming to tell more than half the world's population that they have no right to self-determination because the Russians support them in that aim.

ORIENTALS ON THE SPOT: Yugoslavia's delegate, who proposed appointment of a mediator instead of sanctions, cast the only vote against the U.S. resolution. India and Egypt, the only two Oriental nations on the Council, angered the Americans by stalling: they could not get instructions from their governments, they said. It was rumored the Egyptians—who could stir up no similar indignation when they asked the Security Council to get British troops out of Egypt—had told Cairo not to give them instructions till the voting was over.

The voice of Sir Benegal Narsing Rau of India was tired and depressed. But he clearly indicated how India felt when he said India was next to China and had to consider very carefully before deciding. (India has recognized Communist China; Britain and Norway too, but their western interests prevailed here).

"The people of the world," said Sir Benegal, "are weary of war and rumors of war and we must try our best not to fail them." He recalled that a few weeks ago India and Pakistan were near to war, but the two Premiers got together and the tension was immediately eased. Sir Benegal seemed to be asking: "Why don't Americans and Russians try it too?"

INDIA "ACCEPTS": Could Oriental UN members, which had fought and were still fighting to remove Western troops from their own soil, approve the sending of such troops for military action in Oriental territory? To everyone

PANDIT NEHRU
There was hesitation . . .

New life in China — wha

Concentration on the international aspects of the Korean war has buried from sight in America the simple causes for which the Koreans are fighting—and fighting with such a spirit that the "Kremlin puppet" theory carries little conviction. Not only in Korea but throughout Asia a revolution by peoples who have lived for generations in misery and squalor, and who will no longer endure it, is going on. The U.S. is committed to suppress it in the name of "saving the Asians from communism;" but if the Asians have accepted Communist leadership, it is because no one else has pledged the program of sweeping social reforms they need.

In Viet Nam (Indo-China) the revolutionary forces already control most of the country and the reforms proceed apace. In Malaya, still a British rubber and tin colony, comparatively small guerrilla forces continue the struggle for independence but have established no control. In the Philippines, nominally free but in fact an economic colony of the U.S., the Hukbalahap movement (formed to oust the Japanese, now pledged to oust the U.S.) partially controls large areas. In India, still plagued by feudal landlordism and an economic bondage to Britain of nearly $3,000,000,000, resentment at government corruption and despotism spills over into revolutionary action by the peasantry. In Indonesia, where economic control remains in Dutch, British and U.S. hands, there has been no agrarian reform—the basic need in Asia on which other reforms depend.

As a symbol of what the peoples of Asia are fighting for, the GUARDIAN presents this account from a correspondent in China, where the people have gained full control. The new life for women in China is a clue, which our State Dept. might consider carefully, to the fighting spirit of the North Koreans upon whom we are now dropping bombs.

Special Guardian correspondence

PEKING

FOR thousands of years half the population of China—240,000,000 women and girls—lived in an illiterate, barbarous, unregenerate twilight of repression and underprivilege. Female infanticide, child marriage, concubinage, polygamy, the purchase of wives were familiar aspects of life in old China.

The new China is destroying every vestige of this feudal bondage. In September, 1949, the People's Political Consultative Council meeting in Peking wrote this into the Chinese People's Common Program:

> Women shall enjoy equal rights with men in political, economic, cultural, educational and social life.

In April, 1950, after 18 months of intensive country-wide discussion, a new marriage law guaranteeing full freedom for women became the first national law of new China. Far in advance of similar legislation in the west, it banishes the evils of old social relationships, insists on monogamy, sets age limits before which marriage cannot take place, disallows any interference with the free choice of either partner, prohibits monetary gain from marriage arrangements.

NEW BEGINNINGS: These are highlights of the law:

- Husbands and wives are equal in the home, have equal rights to possessions in the home and to inheritance, and neither can interfere with the other's choice of work or profession.
- Parents are equally responsible for raising children. Discrimination against children born out of wedlock is prohibited, and fathers and mothers have the same responsibilities towards such children as toward those born in wedlock.
- Divorce is granted if both parties desire it; where only one seeks it the court will grant it only if all attempts at reconciliation fail. If, after divorce, either partner has financial difficulties and has not married, the other must help.
- After divorce both parents must continue to accept mutual responsibility for the children, no matter with whom they are living, and property must be divided and an allowance given to the wife in accordance with her own and the children's needs. For added protection to women, no husband can divorce his wife if she is pregnant until a full year after the child is born.

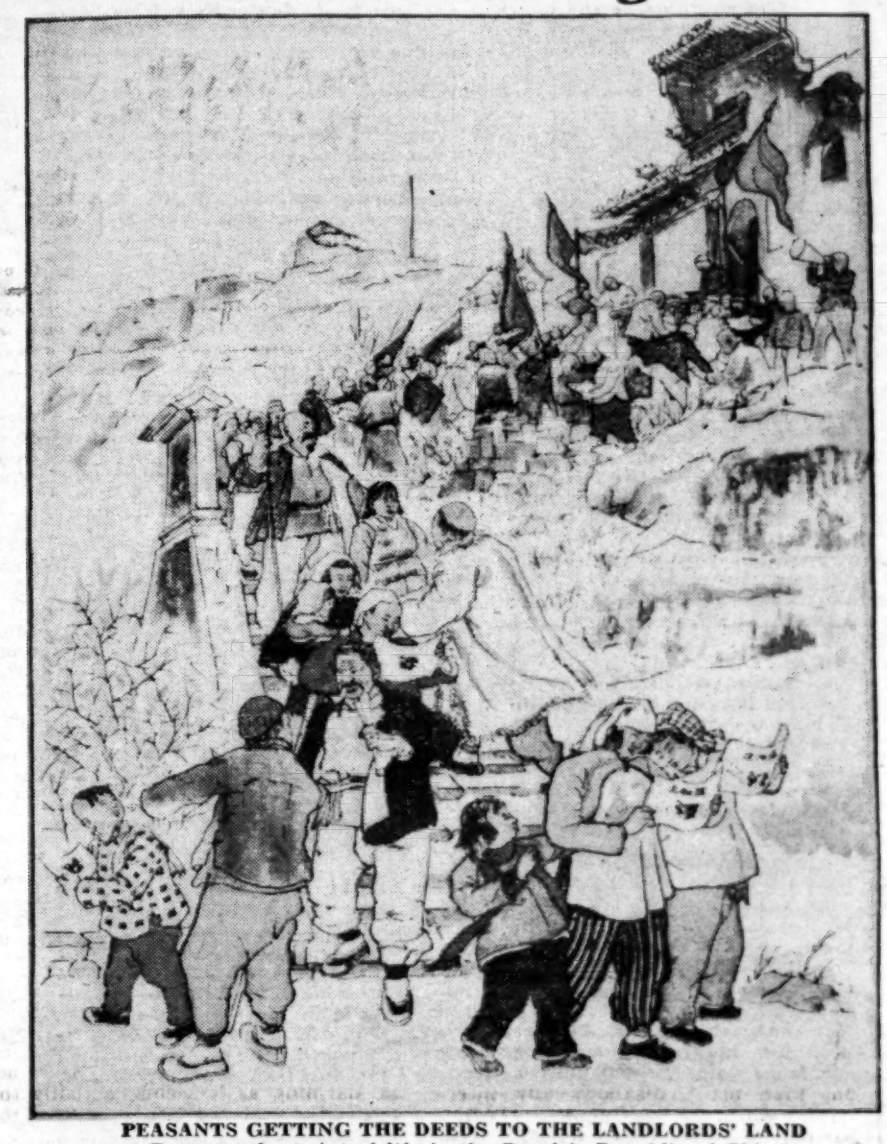
To put teeth into these measures, women have been granted economic independence; under the land reforms, women have title deeds to their own land. In industry they have been given safeguards removing their dependence upon husbands.

SHEDDING SKINS: An immediate result of these reforms has been a high proportion of divorce cases all over China; in North China 64% of all civil suits were for divorce. This is not as alarming as it seems; actually the women are settling accounts with the old society.

These are the causes cited in most proceedings instituted by women: Married off by purchase; marriage arranged by parents without consideration of their children, or for a cash payment; unbearable maltreatment by husband or mother-in-law; and, in the case of child marriages, alarming difference in age. For these women, divorce is a prerequisite to social and economic freedom.

The new relationships are revolutionizing the minds of men. Some peasants betray their old attitudes: "Land reform's fine, the only trouble is in the women; now they have land of their own we can't beat them. They just say, 'If you do I'll leave and go till my

at all Asia is striving for



PEASANTS GETTING THE DEEDS TO THE LANDLORDS' LAND
From a color-print of life in the People's Republic of China

own land'." But propaganda groups, newspapers, schools, and the women themselves are rapidly changing this kind of backward thinking.

ALL FIELDS OPEN: The full import of the new status of women is found in the old liberated areas, where land reform and the revolutionized marriage laws have been enforced for a considerable time. Here you can gauge their great importance to China's reconstruction and development. For here production has increased—production on the land, in the factory—and very largely through the release of energy and initiative provided by granting women greater freedom. More women have entered industry, more women have gone into work which was once barred to them, and about which men once laughingly said: "How could women possibly do this?"—engine driving, tram driving, police work, engineering, law courts, heavy industry.

Women have become labor heroines, have led men on production drives, in land reform, in eradicating illiteracy. They are finding there is almost no work they cannot do, and that only social conventions and male privilege have held them back in the past.

at Lake Success except representatives of imperialist powers it seemed clear they could not. The whole Orient knows Syngman Rhee of Korea and Bao Dai of Indo-China are corrupt Western puppets on the Chiang model. Yet from Premier Nehru in New Delhi on Thursday came news that India had "accepted" the resolution after two emergency cabinet meetings. The word "accepted" implied the pressure put on not only from the U.S. but from Britain and other Commonwealth countries.

India could hardly participate in military action against an Asian independence movement, as an ally of the same imperialists India fought in the past. Seeking to stay on the fence and politically safe, Nehru added to his "acceptance" the "earnest hope" that the fighting would be stopped by mediation.

EGYPT'S PLAIN TALK: On Friday the Egyptian delegate announced that Cairo had taken a position. Egypt would have abstained on the U.S. resolution, he said—for two reasons:

(1) The Korean conflict is 'in fact but a new phase of the deep-rooted divisions between the Western and Eastern blocs—divisions which threaten world peace and security;"

(2) Previous aggressions and violations of "sovereignty and unity" have been submitted to UN, "which did not take any action to put an end to them as it does in Korea."

Egypt's delegate pointed out that British troops had been in Egypt since before Britain's delegate was born—and were still there, despite protests to UN.

The six "little" countries on the Security Council had a private meeting Friday. Except for Yugoslavia, they were cold to India's proposal that a direct appeal for mediation be made to Truman and Stalin.

NO LEGALITY: Many remarked that since neither North nor South Korea is a UN member, neither therefore has to comply with any order even if it were legal. But UN observers and officials knew the order was not legal, for the charter says decisions of substance by the Council must be taken by seven concurring votes, five of which must be cast by the Big Five. On Tuesday two of the Big Five had been absent: not only Russia, but also the effective and legal government of China.

What the Security Council had done in fact was to give a belated rubber-stamp approval to a purely American operation. The U.S. had acted in Korea without any international authority, totally ignoring the regulations laid down for the application of sanctions. Gen. MacArthur is not a member of the UN military staff committee and was not asked by UN to take action in Korea when he did.

What had been shown was that, as long as the U.S. pays one-third of UN's budget, UN would never be really independent.

Russia calls U.S. aggressor; China rallies her people

In a note to Trygve Lie after the Security Council meeting, Moscow pointed out that five permanent members of the Council must vote in favor of a major resolution to make it legal. Russia therefore rejected the resolution on Korea. A **Pravda** editorial accused the U.S. of

> a direct act of aggression against the Korean People's Democratic Republic and against the Republic of China. . . . American circles no longer confine themselves to the preparation of aggression, but have gone over to direct acts of aggression. But have they gone too far?

In Peking, China's Foreign Minister Chou En-lai called Truman's action

> "armed aggression against Chinese territory . . . an act that smashed the UN Charter. . . . Such aggression can be completely defeated if we do not yield to threats but resolutely mobilize the broad masses of the people."

Chou called upon "all peoples who love peace, justice and freedom, and especially on the oppressed nations and peoples of the East," to "rise as one."

WATCH FORMOSA: The real danger of war, the N.Y. **Times** reported from Hong Kong, lies in the Formosa Straits since Peking is "heavily committed to invasion" of Formosa this year. It added:

> The actual extent of Communist investment in this assault is little appreciated because of the clamping down of publicity. . . . Fishermen have been recruited from villages along the 2,700 miles of coast line. . . . Last month the East China branch of the Seamen's Union had the task of mobilizing 1,000,000 tons of wooden shipping. . . .

Chou said:

> "No matter what obstructive action the U.S. imperialists may take, the fact that Taiwan (Formosa) is part of China will remain forever unchanged. This is not only a historical fact; it has also been confirmed by the Cairo and Potsdam declarations and by the situation since the surrender of Japan. All the people of our country will certainly fight to the end single-mindedly to liberate Taiwan from the grasp of the American aggressors."

Concluding a meeting of the People's Council, China's President Mao Tze-tung said:

> "Imperialism is outwardly strong but feeble within because it has no support among the people."

"WE WEREN'T PRESENT"—N. KOREA: North Korea called the Council's cease-fire order illegal since it had not been present when its affairs were discussed and China and Russia did not participate. It repeated the charge that it had been attacked by the South. From Hong Kong, Walter Sullivan, recently in Korea for the N.Y. **Times**, reported that two months ago "there was considerable evidence" that no such attack was planned in the North:

> Early this year affairs in South Korea were going from bad to worse economically and politically. . . . The Communists were believed to be counting on the collapse of the Government without the need for a direct attack.

CHOU EN-LAI
"The Charter is smashed"

WORLD REACTIONS: Tokyo reshuffled its government to make it more pro-American, put a watch on Koreans in the country. MacArthur banned the Communist paper for blaming South Korea for the outbreak. Japanese kamikaze (suicide) pilots were reported volunteering for service with South Korea.

Still without a government in Paris, French official circles called Rhee's government "unpopular and unstable," expressing a cautious hope that the U.S. would confine its activities below the 38th parallel. Italy banned the World Partisans of Peace Conference scheduled for October. Britain, Australia and New Zealand placed naval forces at MacArthur's disposal. Political circles in Franco's Spain expressed "surprise and admiration."

THE WAR FRONT

S. Koreans 'melt'; U.S. bombs North

THE South Korean army was up to the week-end under the command of Lieut. Gen. Choi Yung Duk, who, the N. Y. **Times** reported, "was a major in the ordnance branch of the Japanese Army just five years ago." The **Times'** military expert, Hanson Baldwin, said 50% of the three South Korean divisions doing the bulk of the fighting are "casualties — killed, captured, wounded, and soldiers who have just 'melted away' into the hills."

As the GUARDIAN went to press, the U.S. Defense Dept. confirmed that Northern tanks had broken through the "stabilized" South Korean lines on the Han River south of Seoul. U.S. bombers, operating on a big scale, blasted Seoul and the nearby Kimpo airport, which the U.S. later claimed to have retaken. They also bombed North Korea long before the President's announcement that he had ordered them to do so. The Soviet news agency Tass said 27 Superfortresses dropped 30 50-lb to 500-lb bombs on North Korea's capital, Pyongyang. But future prospects for air operations depended on the weather not being subversively normal. "Officials believe," reported the N.Y. **Herald Tribune**, that

> If the now-overdue Korean rainy season sets in, the North Korean Communists may . . . "completely overrun" South Korea.

U.S. DILEMMAS: Pointing out before the bombing of North Korea was announced that "nearly every solution facing the U.S. seems to have grave disadvantages," the **Times'** Hanson Baldwin wrote that such attacks would "destroy some of the legal basis for our intervention;" they would "have bad political and psychological results," and would not necessarily "procure quick and definitive liquidation of the Korean situation."

In the early days of the fighting U.S. news reports featured charges by the Rhee regime that Russians were actually fighting with the North Koreans. The Hearst press carried three-inch headlines, RUSSIANS JOIN FIGHT, over a report that Russian aviators were flying in North Korea. But Lt. Gen. E. Stratemeyer, commander of the U.S Far East Air Forces, said: "No North Korean planes are being flown by Russians."

U.S. air and naval forces had no army to support in South Korea since South Koreans have no stomach for the fight. Before the President's announcement that U.S. ground troops

(Continued on following page)

(Continued from preceding page)

would be used, Baldwin pointed out the "grave objections" of this "solution." If more than two of the four divisions now in Japan were diverted, the explosive internal situation in Japan would be "too greatly imperiled."

JAIL DOORS OPENED: From Hong Kong the N. Y. **Times** reported on guerrilla operations behind the South Korean lines. North Korean radio reports, it said, told of reinforcing guerrilla forces, worn down and weakened by years of attrition. They have been re-equipped and reinforced by land and by sea, while jails and "re-education camps" have been opened and political prisoners released by the tens of thousands. Said the **Times:**

> People's Committees have been re-established. They had been organized during the first month after the Japanese surrender in cities and towns throughout the country, but had been dissolved by the U. S. occupation forces in the South.... When U. S. troops landed in Korea in Sept., 1945, they were welcomed as liberators. If they march into Seoul again, the situation will be far different.

Press-radio hysteria reaches new peak

"WE interrupt this program . . ." came the voice of the announcer and then came bulletins, communiques, comments, rumors.

The press and radio made up in noise what it lacked in coherence. But in the first frantic week of war some voices made sense.

Elmer Benson, co-chairman of the Progressive Party, told the GUARDIAN:

> "Our military action in Korea is in conflict with every decent democratic principle. It was a political and economic disaster made by a handful of military men and much too important a decision to be made by any group in the U. S. other than the whole American people. We are now at war and our boys are killing and being killed because of the decision of these military men."

Paul Robeson said:

> "American intervention in Korea is the culmination of a wicked and shameful policy which our government has pursued with respect to the colonial peoples. The meaning of the President's order will not be lost on the Negro people. They will know that if we don't end this armed adventure in Korea today, tomorrow it will be Africa. It will be hard to tell the people of Africa that it is the Russians who have stirred them to struggle for freedom."

THE BIGGER CONGRESS: The National Labor Conference for Peace called on the people to "veto" the President's undeclared war. A large New Jersey local of the Farmers Union wired the President demanding "peace talks, not military adventures."

In New York's Madison Sq. Garden, 12,000 people cheered when Vito Marcantonio, addressing himself to "the bigger Congress, the people" said:

> "The hour is dark but it is not an hour of despair, not an hour of defeat. By God, we are Americans. We'll fight for freedom."

WAR STATESMEN: Gov. Dewey planned a home guard for New York. Mayor O'Dwyer conferred about the city's defenses against atomic attack. Furniture manufacturers quickly foresaw higher prices. The CIO and AFL went down the line for the President's statement. Herbert Hoover had reservations about the "origins, mistakes, responsibilities" of our policy, but now that the "U.S. draws the sword . . . there is only one way out. That is to win." Gen. Eisenhower favored the "firm stand." New York Liberal Party Chairman A. A. Berle called the war "a good chance of preserving peace."

The Missouri Synod of the Lutheran Church became the first religious group to approve the U.S. action.

CONGRESS COMMENT: In the House only Marcantonio attacked the intervention. In the Senate only Kem (R-Mo.) held back. Sen. Taft (R-O.) supported the declaration but pointed out that the President had usurped Congressional powers in declaring a "de facto war." Senator McCarthy's assault on the Administration "reds" was all but forgotten. Most Republicans felt that Truman had probably hit the year's "political jackpot." They concentrated on Secy. Acheson, insisting he be fired for not having been more warlike. Republicans pushed for passage of the Mundt-Ferguson police state bill.

IN PRINT: The big press showed few variations. Hearst's N.Y. **Mirror** on Monday said: "The people are well aware of our failures of statesmanship and are not disposed to erase them with American blood." On Wednesday, just before the first U.S. blood was shed, the paper approved the intervention.

The N. Y. **Post** reported that the FBI had swung into action according to pre-arranged plan. N. Y. **News** columnist Ed Sullivan called for vigilance to catch the "party line" on radio and television and applauded the jailing of "dangerous jerks." Hearst columnist Westbrook Pegler called for the execution of all communists.

Walter Winchell gleefully noted radio and television blacklisting. The New York **Daily Mirror** asked: "Isn't this the time to do something about our native Communists? . . . Shall we let these thugs go free . . . ?"

Meanwhile Elizabeth Moos of the Peace Information Center told the GUARDIAN:

> "We feel that this intensifies the necessity for outlawing atomic weapons. People will realize that the first thing is to make sure atomic weapons will not be used. The World Peace Appeal takes on a new significance. Now above all we ought to make our voices heard."

FREEDOMS

Hollywood Ten: all sent to jail

IN routine fashion the last of the Hollywood Ten were convicted last week for standing on their Constitutional right to withhold their political beliefs from the House Un-American Activities Committee.

Albert Maltz, Lester Cole, Ring Lardner Jr. and Alvah Bessie were sentenced to one year's imprisonment and $1,000 fines; Herbert Biberman and Edward Dmytryk, six months and $1,000 fines. Ornitz's sentence was postponed because of a jaw operation. Adrian Scott, ill in Los Angeles, will be sentenced between Aug. 18 and Sept. 2. The six sentenced were taken to jail at once. Before he left the court Lardner said:

> "There is only a minor difference between forcing a man to say what his opinions are and dictating what those opinions should be."

Albert Maltz said:

> "The cause of patriotism is not always easy, popular or widely understood at a given moment. . . . I face the court with a clear and steady conscience."

The Committee to Free the Hollywood Ten at once launched a campaign for full pardon.

IN THE WINGS: Rev. Richard Morford, executive director of the National Council for American Soviet Friendship, began his second trial for refusing to turn over to the Un-A.A.C. the names of Council contributors.

The Committee has announced other victims soon to be started on the route of a contempt charge, trial and jail. These are: Philip Jaffe, former editor of **Amerasia**; Frederick Vanderbilt Field; Earl Browder; Philip Bart, manager of the **Daily Worker**; Steve Nelson, chairman of the Communist Party in western Pennsylvania, and 39 members of the Longshoremen's Union in Hawaii.

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Lt. Thompson free; a Guardian victory

THE day after the general elections of 1948, Marine Corps Lieut. Harold K. Thompson tried to resign from the service so he could devote himself to full-time work for the Progressive Party. His political views were well-known to his superiors. The resignation was not accepted; instead Lieut. Thompson was court-martialed and convicted on charges of spanking enlisted men and indulging in homosexual practices. For 20 months he was held in detention at Quantico marine post.

Last week he was summarily dismissed from the Corps. During the months of his arrest an investigation showed that wire-tapping had been used in the proceedings against him; Marine Corps witnesses against him admitted that the charges had been framed and that they had testified under coercion.

In its March 22, 1950 issue, the GUARDIAN published a full report of the frame-up by its Washington correspondent, John B. Stone. Thompson credits his freedom to that expose, which was followed by American Civil Liberties Union intervention, at the

GUARDIAN's urging, on his behalf.

MATTHEWS ON THE SPOT: The case is not closed. In an interview with Thompson and his attorney on May 10 this year, Secy. of the Navy Francis P. Matthews stated his view that there were at least five reversible errors in the court-martial proceedings. But in his dismissal order Matthews approved the findings and the sentence of the court-martial. Summary dismissal is not a dishonorable discharge but carries a flavor of disloyalty.

Thompson plans to sue Secy. Matthews for damages in civil court, and also to sue for reinstatement to the Marine Corps so he can fully clear himself. Meanwhile he will go to Chatham, N. J., where he will work for the election of Katherine Van Orden, Progressive Party candidate for Congress.

DETROIT

Scottsboro Boy held

IN 1948 Heywood Patterson, last of the nine Scottsboro Boys still in prison, escaped after 17 years of incredible horror and debasement in Alabama prisons. He and the other eight had been convicted in 1931 of raping two hobo-prostitutes (one of whom later admitted that the rape had never taken place) and sentenced to death. For years the case was a No. 1 cause for liberal and radical organizations; they succeeded in having the death sentences revoked. Pardons and paroles followed. But Patterson, the man they couldn't break, was left.

TELETYPE MESSAGE: After his escape Patterson lived in hiding, worked at odd jobs in New York. With Earl Conrad he undertook, and completed, the long job of telling the world his story; the resulting book **Scottsboro Boy** is now selling all over the country at the rate of 1,000 copies a week. Then he went to Detroit to visit his sister. An FBI agent picked him up. Alabama authorities had not asked for his arrest; the Justice Dept. knew nothing about it. An FBI agent in Mobile, Ala., made the request by teletype, acting on a rarely-invoked federal statute.

A federal judge ordered Patterson held in $10,000 bail, then reduced it to $5,000, set the hearing for July 10. Patterson objected: "Eighteen years ago on July 10 I was sentenced to be hanged for something I never done." The judge changed the date to July 13. The Civil Rights Congress launched a campaign to save Patterson from extradition—and probably death by torture or murder. Telegrams to Gov. G. Mennen Williams of Michigan were urged.

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NATIONAL GUARDIAN 17 Murray Street, New York 7, N. Y.

BRIDGES UNION TAKES THE LEAD

CIO victims called to mutual aid parley

By Elmer Bendiner

FROM the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union in San Francisco last week came the most heartening message since the CIO knuckled under to the cold war.

Propaganda-bred hysteria over the Korean civil war was bringing new dangers to progressive America. And in that atmosphere word came of an ILWU call to every union expelled or about to be expelled from the CIO for resisting labor's march to the rear. All would be invited to get together at a national conference and "adopt a program for mutual aid and assistance against CIO schemes for raiding, union-busting and strike-breaking."

Receiving the call would be the Fur Workers, United Electrical Workers, Mine-Mill, Food, Tobacco and Agriculture, Marine Cooks and Stewards, Public Workers, Office & Professional Workers, Allied Fishermen (now merged with the west coast longshoremen). These are the unions which have been submitted to abuse and raiding—and finally, expulsion when they refused to sacrifice their militant principles: the unions which during the past year have been fighting back, fighting for their members—but fighting alone. They number about 800,000 workers. Their stand will affect many more in auto, steel and elsewhere who even now are bucking the CIO machine.

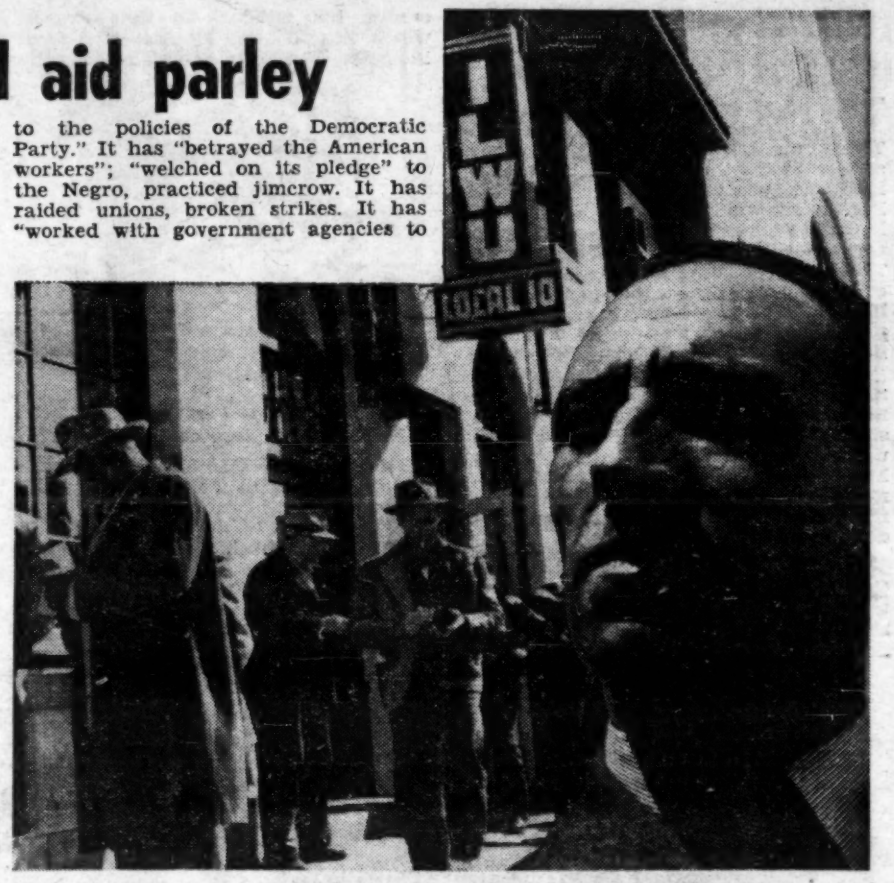
NO "CANNIBAL UNITY": The ILWU executive board made it clear that the conference "shall not in any way be construed or used as a program or a move to form another separate federation or congress of labor." The board would take no action furthering the disunity of labor.

In a separate statement of policy it endorsed the proposals of John L. Lewis and the United Mine Workers to pool the resources of U. S. labor to fight union-busting by big business. The board added:

> "The exclusion of John L. Lewis from the talks now in progress between AFL and CIO stands in itself as sufficient proof that no genuine unity is under consideration. When combined with CIO's desertion of the economic fight and its betrayal of its founding principles—to organize the unorganized—to devote itself instead to raids, disorganization and cannibalism, we must conclude that all that will come of these meetings will be a misshapen coalition of reaction to further throttle the American workers."

No date has been set for the conference. At the week-end the call had not yet formally gone out. There was little doubt, though, of how it would be received. The UOPWA and UPW had in convention authorized their officers to take such action. Ben Gold, international president of the Fur Workers, told the GUARDIAN:

> "We will most certainly join with these unions and any other unions in a pact against strike-breaking and for mutual assistance. I assume that the conference will initiate a campaign for a united labor movement and will work out a program for that movement. I assume that the conference will deal with unemployment, civil rights and peace."



INDICTMENT: In an indictment of CIO the ILWU made these charges:

- CIO is "a political machine chained to the policies of the Democratic Party." It has "betrayed the American workers"; "welched on its pledge" to the Negro, practiced jimcrow. It has raided unions, broken strikes. It has "worked with government agencies to frame and imprison union leaders and officers."
- "It has encouraged union members and union leaders to act as stool pigeons and informers against their fellow unionists in the tradition of the infamous role enacted by Judas Iscariot."
- In its foreign policy CIO has given aid to pro-fascist regimes and re-nazification; indorsed the Bell Act (installing U.S. economic rule in the Philippines); refused to encourage trade with China, "and in this matter is not even as liberal as the California Chamber of Commerce." CIO has sponsored a world-wide scab labor movement pledged to destroy the World Federation of Trade Unions, "the original UN of world labor." It has endorsed the war program and the H-bomb.

For its own peace program the ILWU endorsed the World Peace Appeal. (It had no comment on Korea since the union's board met before war broke.)

FIGHT—OR ELSE: On civil liberties, the ILWU said:

> "It takes courage these days to speak out in defense of civil liberties and for constitutional rights. Many who feel in their hearts that the country is rapidly being regimented nevertheless hesitate for fear of reprisals against themselves, their families, their jobs.
>
> "The ILWU has that courage. We know that the loss of civil rights of even Communists means danger to our own freedoms. But American workers must work—or else!
>
> "The time has come to carry this fight to the entire American people to defend their liberties before it is too late."

Bloody Thursday and the silent marching men

By Steve Charter

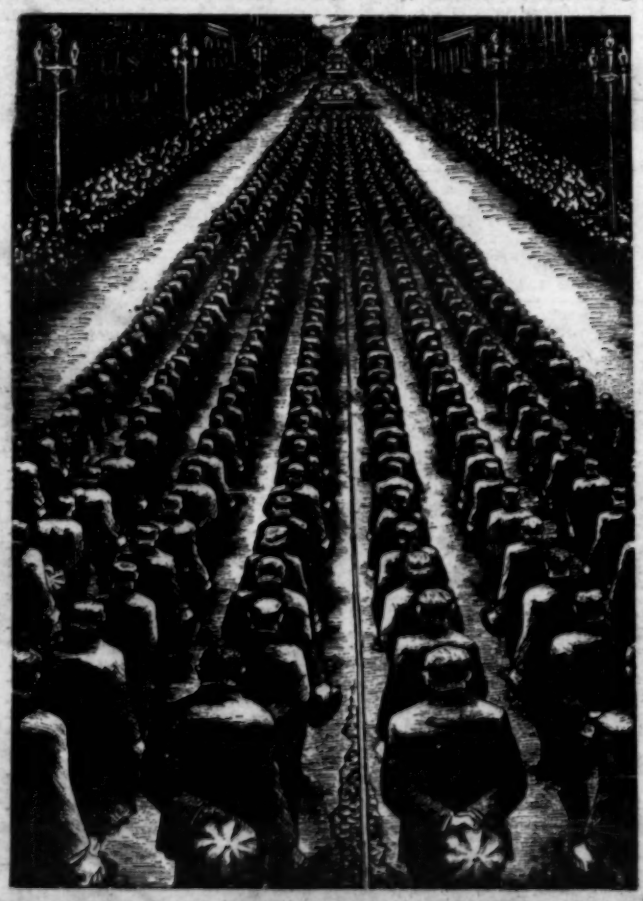
OLEMA, CALIF.

A HANDFUL of seamen still remember "Bloody Thursday." Most seafaring and shoreside workers have never even heard of the day.

Yet 16 years ago more than 40,000 men, women and children marched silently in the funeral procession behind the coffins of two waterfront strikers shot in the back by newspaper-incited police that fateful Thursday.

A few days after that "stupendous and reverend procession that astounded the city" (as one commercial newspaper described it), San Francisco felt the power of organized labor in the mightiest and most dramatic general strike yet seen in America.

Those who remember, and who are still fighting, say that "Bloody Thursday," July Fifth, has more meaning today than any year since 1934.



ORIGIN OF "GET BRIDGES": Shipowners still think of the 15 years between 1919 and 1934 as the era of peace and harmony. Maritime workers knew those years as the era of chaos, company unions and shapeup. Shipowners keep manipulating to bring back those good old days—the recent Harry Bridges trial is one prong of the attempt. Maritime workers are increasingly aware that growing solidarity is the price of liberty.

After World War I profit-swollen shipowners, using the newly-invented Red scare, smashed the maritime unions. Petty graft, the blacklist and shapeup plagued the men plodding from pier to pier looking for work.

By 1933, fed-up longshoremen organized the International Longshoremen's Assn., but the American Shipowners Assn. stymied every union attempt to secure better working conditions.

RYAN SELLS OUT: A coastwide ILA convention, by a 99% majority, voted strike action. As Mike Quin reported at that time:

> . . . It was difficult to tell who was most afraid of a strike, the employers or the top AFL officials. . . .Joe Ryan, international head of the ILA, flew out from New York and settled the whole strike in about 24 hours by selling it out. . . .He wore out several fountain pens signing sell-out agreements, all of which were repudiated. . . . The men booed him off the Coast. . . .

Teamster Boss Dave Beck flew down from Seattle to echo King Joe Ryan's redbaiting, and was also booed off.

Fortunately the rank and file had elected their own strike committee right off the docks. Harry Bridges was voted chairman.

The strike was solidifying; seamen and longshoremen were unified; one of the greatest educational programs ever seen was put into effect by the strikers. As a result, the entire maritime industry shut down. Nothing moved.

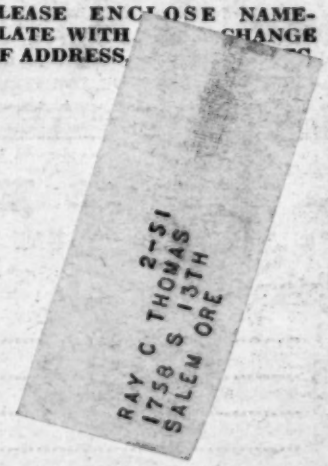
SILENT MARCHERS: On July 5, 1934, the shipowners launched their major armed offensive to open the ports. In one of the most violent police assaults ever launched against organized labor, scores were wounded, and two workers—Nicholas Bordoise and Howard Sperry—were killed.

The following Monday they were buried. Mike Quin, in his recently published book, **The Big Strike**, wrote:

> . . . Slowly, barely creeping, the trucks moved out into Market Street. With slow, rhythmic step the giant procession followed. . . . Here and there, well-dressed businessmen from Montgomery Street stood amazed and impressed, but with their hats still on their heads. Sharp voices shot out of the line of march: 'Take off your hat!' . . . The businessmen obeyed.
>
> . . . Hours went by, but still the marchers poured onto Market Street until the whole length of the street, from the Ferry Building to Valencia, was filled with silent, marching men, women and children. . . .
>
> Labor was burying its own. . . .

Harry Bridges, in the midst of his recent trial, wrote a postscript to **The Big Strike** in which he says:

". . . And if any dues-payer asks, 'When will it end? When can I knock off?' the only answer is: 'Brother, not until we win all the way.'"

The Big Strike by Mike Quin, illustrations by Rockwell Kent and Bits Hayden, is available for $1 from Olema Publishing Co., Olema, Calif.

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